1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium of communication between them and man. 796*

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers. 778 [821 822 825]

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used. [822]

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'ruhus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the Children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend. [822]

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirûsawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying.

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 178 778 796*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 772 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help to man.

776 *796 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

*796 heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because [776 of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; 821] that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us, and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! Ii'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

[195 778] Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. Ii'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on Ii'Uraru!"

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Sixth Stanza

*539 26, 27, 28 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 29 Heru! Chaharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
[192] Chaharu, Water. This term applies to the supernatural power of the water; it is not used in ordinary speech; the common word for water is kil'tau.
he! part of t'haru! give heed! See line 4.
30 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Chaharu."

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 Chaharu, Water, is one of the lesser powers. Water is very necessary to the life of man and all living things. The Winds, the Sun,
*796 the Earth, the Vegetation, and the Water are the five lesser powers
623 through which the life of our bodies is maintained. We cry to Chaharu to come near and give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared.

I told you that these stanzas are in the order of creation. The powers are mentioned in the order in which they come near to man and enable him to live and to keep alive. As we sing we reflect upon our dependence on these lesser powers.

Water is employed only for sacred purposes in this ceremony. It can not be used in any ordinary way from the time we begin the singing of these songs to the end of the entire ceremony. A man can drink water to sustain his life, but he can not touch it for any other purpose. He can not go swimming, nor can he step into water without first performing certain rites. It is difficult to abstain so long
[821] from the use of water, but it must be done or we shall suffer punishment for our profanation. We shall have storms, the sky will be filled with clouds, there will be obstructions between us and the place where the powers above dwell—those whom we invoke in this ceremony.

I have known of instances where some of the men of the party sneaked out of the camp during this ceremony, went to a stream and washed, or jumped in and took a swim, and the result was a storm that brought great distress upon the people.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

*539 31, 32, 33 See lines 1, 2, 3.
*796 34 Heru! Kusharu. He!
heru! an exclamation of reverence. See line 4.
Kusharu, a place set apart for sacred purposes and made holy.
he! part of t'haru! give heed! See line 4.
35 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Kusharu!"

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

66 Ho-o-o-o!
67 H'areri, h'areri. He!
68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
69 H'areri, h'areri. He!
70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!
71 H'areri, h'areri. He!

Translation

66 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

67 H'areri, h'areri. He!

h', an aspiration, symbolic of a breathing forth, as the giving of breath so that a thing may live.

areri, a part of the word iraríri, a particular place. The change of the h in the final syllable of the word to r when the abbreviation areri is sung is for ease of utterance and euphony.

h'areri. Translated above.

he! a part of the exclamation i'hare! meaning I think upon, I give heed to the significance of the act which accompanies this song. The change of the initial r in the last syllable of the word to an h, making it he, is for euphony.

68 H'areri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He!

H'areri, h'areri, h'areri. See line 67.

'reri, a part of the abbreviation areri, translated above.

h'areri. He! See line 67.

69 See line 67.

70 'Reri, h'areri, h'areri, 'reri, h'areri. He! See lines 67 and 68.

71 See line 67.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Blue is the color of the sky, the dwelling place of Tira'wahut, that great circle of the powers which watch over man. As the man paints the stick blue we sing. We ask as we sing that life be given to this symbol of the dwelling place of Tira'wa.

When the man has completed the painting of the stick he hands it to the Ku'rahus, who has already mixed red clay with water from a running stream in a shell, and he paints the straight groove red. This groove is the path along which the spirits of all the things that are to be put upon this stick of ash may travel as they go forth to give their help during this ceremony. "H'areri" is a prayer that the symbol may have life.

821
822
826

We paint the groove red because the passageway is red through which man's breath comes and goes to give him life. The sun, too, is red, and the groove represents the straight path whereon the sun shines, the path which man must travel if he would live in peace and prosper. The teachings of this ceremony make a straight path along which if a man walks he will receive help from the powers.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796*
[776
821]

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony.

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place.

PART II. MOTHER CORN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

[346]

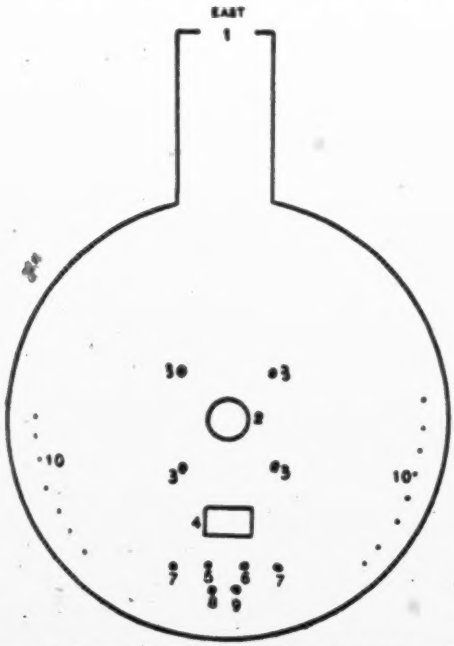


FIG. 173. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

If'Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

558 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
559 Kawas ti waku ka riki.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the intermediary as well as the representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.
ti, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas, singular number, spoken of.
waku, speaks.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge; refers to the space within the lodge about the fire. In this instance ka indicated the holy place set apart for the sacred objects.
riki, standing; the word implies the present time.
560 See line 559.
561 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
562 See line 559.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825] Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Ku'rahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

[826] She tells him that Tira'wa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tira'wa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day.

This is the meaning of this stanza. The words of the song do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from our fathers and taught to the Ku'rahus, who may teach it to anyone who is serious-minded and sincerely desires to learn these sacred things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

563 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
564 We tatiehiri wak ka riki.
we, I.
tatiehiri, understand, have knowledge of the meaning.
wak, a part of the word waku, speech, to speak.
ka, a part of akaro, lodge; within the lodge. See line 559.
riki, standing.
565 See line 564.
566 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
567 See line 564.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In this stanza the Ku'rahus answers Kawas. He tells her that he understands the words she spoke to him when standing there in the lodge, that now he knows the meaning of the signs in the east; that night is the mother of the day, that it is by the power of Tira'wa atius moving on Darkness that she gives birth to the Dawn.

The Dawn is the child of Tira'wa atius. It gives the blessing of life; it comes to awaken man, to awake Mother Earth and all living things that they may receive the life, the breath of the Dawn which is born of the Night by the power of Tira'wa atius.

Our fathers were taught by Kawas and understood what she told them, and what they then learned has been handed down to us.

Translation of Seventh Stanza

568 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

569 Pirau si whata i.

pirau, my son. The term refers to the Son, the person to whom the Father has brought the Hako to establish a bond between the two by means of this ceremony. The Son has remained in the lodge through the night.

si, you.

whata, arise. See line 539.

i, a part of riki; now, present time.

570 See line 569.

571 See line 546.

572 See line 569.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We now call upon the Son, who has been asleep and resting in the lodge, to awake, to move, and to arise, for the east gives signs of the birth of the dawn, whose breath is on all things.

Translation of Eighth Stanza

573 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

574 Pirau ta wata i.

pirau, my son; the term refers to the Son.

ta, a personal pronoun referring to the Son.

wata, has arisen.

i, a part of riki; now.

575 See line 574.

576 See line 546.

577 See line 574.

Explanation of the Ku'rahus

The Son hears the call. He wakes, he moves, he rises, he looks to the east and sees the signs of the dawn.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539* 796*

We sing this song slowly with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things.

539* 796*

The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor.

776 821

The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of a ray of the coming sun. The soft, downy feather is the symbol of breath and life.

The star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is so far off; then we see it again, for it is coming steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter.

This is the meaning of this stanza, and the star comes as we sing it four times.

Translation of Second Stanza

539* 796*

583 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

584 H'Opirit ta ahrisha.

h', the symbol of breath, life.

Opirit, the Morning Star.

ta, approaching.

ahrisha, coming still nearer, but at the same time disappearing. The word conveys the picture of the morning star by its increased brilliancy coming nearer, and then fading, disappearing in the light of day.

585, 586, 587 See line 584.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539* 796*

As we sing this stanza the Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life.

776 821

As we look upon him he grows less bright, he is ressling, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tira'wa atius sent him to bestow.

We sing this stanza four times.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 588 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 589 Reshuru rira risha.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
rira, coming toward one.
risha, something scarcely to be seen because of its distance; it eludes, seems to appear and then to disappear.
590, 591, 592 See line 589.

Explanation by the Ku'rahua

As we sing this stanza we are still standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the long passageway toward the east. Now in the distance we see the Dawn approaching; it is coming, coming along the path of the Morning Star. It is a long path and as the Dawn advances along this path sometimes we catch sight of it and then again we lose it, but all the time it is coming nearer.

●[821] The Dawn is new born, its breath has sent new life everywhere, all things stir with the life Tira'wa atius has given this child, his child, whose mother is the Night.

We sing this stanza four times.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

593 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
594 Reshuru ta ahrisha.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
ta, approaching, coming.
ahrisha, coming nearer but only to disappear. The Dawn comes nearer, grows brighter, but disappears in the brighter light of day.
595, 596, 597 See line 594.

Explanation by the Ku'rahua

As we stand, looking through the long passageway of the lodge, watching and singing, we see the Dawn come nearer and nearer; its brightness fills the sky, the shadowy forms on the earth are becoming visible. As we watch, the Dawn, like the Morning Star, recedes. It is following the star, going back to the place whence it came, to its birthplace.

The day is close behind, advancing along the path of the Morning Star and the Dawn, and, as we watch, the Dawn vanishes from our sight.

We sing this song four times.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904-
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 *796 814 Piraa rati haa.
piraa, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hiratí, my.
haa, my own child.

817 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 814.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

*796 ● 821 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 [346] The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the [776 782] Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Verse

*539 618 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 619 Hira H'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha.

hira, will come. The word is ira, the h is added for euphony and greater ease in singing.
h', the symbol of breath, life, breathing forth, giving life.
aars, a contraction of atius, father.
ira, will come.
a, a prolongation of the last syllable of ira.
were, at that time, when, or then.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
huru, entering.
ka, a part of akaru, lodge. Ka, however, refers to the open space within, around the fireplace, where the people gather, where they sit and pursue their avocations.
ha-a, a prolongation of ka.
hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha. All the words are translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

[776 82] We speak of the sun as Father breathing forth life (h'Aars), causing the earth to bring forth, making all things to grow. We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tira'wa atius, the father of life, and his ray (hukawi) as the bearer of this life. (You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack.) While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within.

We sing this verse four times as we go around the lodge. When we reach the west we pause.

Food, which has been prepared outside the lodge, is now brought in, and the Children are given their morning meal. Then we sing the second verse.

Translation of Second Verse

620 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta-kusi hi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, a spot; the word refers to the place where the ray touches and makes a bright spot.
kusi, alights upon, rests upon.
hi, a part of hira, will come. See line 619.
i, a prolongation of the syllable hi.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

[82] As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot (ta), the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. 539* 796* [821] [372]

The fire holds an important place in the lodge; you remember we sang about it when we were preparing the sacred objects (first ritual, first song, line 49). Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge.

As we sing we look at the bright spot where the ray has alighted, and we know that life from our father the Sun will come to us by the ray.

We sing this verse four times, and when we have completed the second circuit of the lodge and have reached the west we pause.

Translation of Third Verse

622 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

623 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta wira ka-a hukawi, ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira ha.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, the spot, the place that is touched by the ray
wira, climbing down, descending into.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge.
a, a vowel prolongation.
hukawi, the ray or beam.
ta wira hukawi, hukawi ta wira. Translated above.
ha, a vocable to fill out the measure.

Explanation by the Kitkahus

As the sun rises higher we turn toward the north and begin the third circuit of the lodge. The ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the Sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray, which is now climbing down into the space within the lodge where we are gathered together.

We sing this verse four times, and after the third circuit we pause at the west.

Translation of Fourth Verse

624 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

625 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ka hakidhihi hukawi, ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhihi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ka, a part of the word akaro, lodge, particularly the space within the lodge, about the fire.
hakidhiki, walking, moving about the room, the open space within the lodge.
hukawi, the ray.
ka hakidhiki hukawi, hukawi ka hakidhiki. Translated above.

1: Fletcher É-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 ● 821 773 When, during the ceremony of the Hako, the Pleiades appear above the horizon, this song must be sung. If, when the coming of these stars is reported, we should be singing, we must break off at the third stanza and sing this song for the fourth circuit of the lodge.

This song to the Pleiades is to remind the people that Tira'wa has appointed the stars to guide their steps. It is very old and belongs to the time when this ceremony was being made. This is the story to explain its meaning which has been handed down from our fathers:

A man set out upon a journey; he traveled far; then he thought he would return to his own country, so he turned about. He traveled long, yet at night he was always in the same place. He lay down and slept and a vision came. A man spoke to him; he was the leader of the seven stars. He said: "Tira'wa made these seven stars to remain together, and he fixed a path from east to west for them to travel over. He named the seven stars Chaka. If the people will look at these stars they will be guided aright."

When the man awoke he saw the Pleiades rising; he was glad, and he watched the stars travel. Then he turned to the north and reached his own country.

The stars have many things to teach us, and the Pleiades can guide us and teach us how to keep together.

*539 *796 We sing this song four times as we make the circuit of the lodge; then we lay the Hako down to rest upon the holy place and sing the songs which belong to that action.

The following songs can be sung at night after the regular song has been completed, if the Children should call for them:

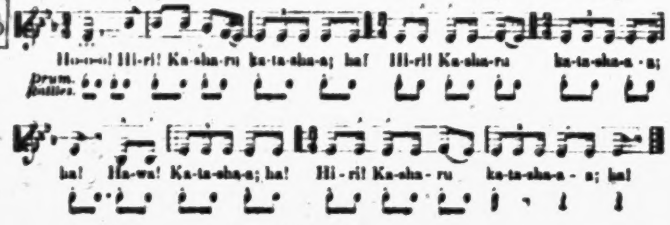
EXTRA NIGHT SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 132.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



707 Ho-o-o!
708 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a; ha!
709 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!
710 Hawa! Katasha-a; ha!
711 Hiri! Kasharu katasha-a-a; ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*796 The picture of the face of Tira'wa atius is put upon the face of the consecrated child.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

*539 1210 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 1211 Hi-ri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots we ri ta wawe he!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! harken!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
wawe, to spread.
he! from hiri! give heed!
1212, 1213 See line 1211.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the fifth stanza the old man touches the lines here and there to make them clear; he can not spread the paint, for he is making a picture.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

1214 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1215 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Awi kots weri ta witshpa ha!
hiri! harken! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hari! give heed!
awi, a part of awiu, a picture.
kots, light blue (paint).
we, now.
ri, it.
ta, a part of taokut, to touch.
witshpa, accomplished; completed.
ha! behold!
1216, 1217 See line 1215.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 In the sixth stanza we sing that it is done, that the face of Tira'wa
*796 atius is upon the face of the consecrated child.
There is a group of stars overhead which forms a circle (Corona
●821 Borealis). This is a circle of chiefs. Tira'wa atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted.
*539 From this circle of stars came a society called Ruristesharu. All
*796 dances (societies) given by Tira'wa atius are called rariks; tesharu
575
621

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We like to have the sky clear during the time this ceremony is taking place. We do not like to have clouds come between us and the abode of Tira'wa atius, particularly storm clouds. We feel this way because we do not want anything to intercept the prayers of the Fathers or to hinder the descent of the help that we ask for the Children. If, however, clouds arise and a storm threatens, the Children may request this song to be sung, but the Fathers may not volunteer to sing it. 796* 821

After the request for the song has been made, the following ceremony takes place: The Ku'rahus, with the Kawas feathered stem, his assistant with the white-eagle feathered stem, and the chief with the wildcat skin, in which are the crotched stick, the ear of corn, and the sacred pipe, rise from their seats at the west and pass out of the lodge. When they are outside under the open sky, they face the gathering clouds and sing the first stanza four times. While they sing the song and wave the eagle stems to the rhythm of the music, the chief holds the cat skin up toward the storm clouds. He holds it the same way while we sing the second stanza four times.

The words of these stanzas are few, but their meaning has come down to us with the story of the song.

Long, long ago the woodpecker was told by Tira'wa that the lightning would never strike the tree upon which it had built its nest. The four beings at the west who have control of the thunder and lightning would protect the bird, so that it need never fear the storm. 796* 821 825

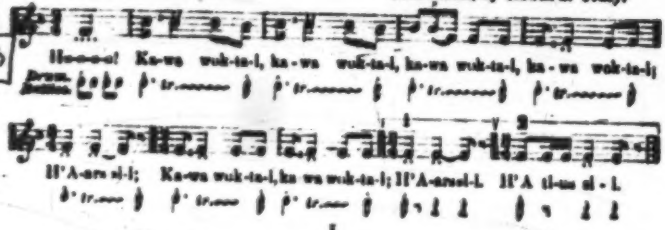
The woodpecker which came to the man to whom this ceremony was revealed taught him this song and told him when to sing it. He was to sing it only when the storm threatened; if he sang it at any other time he would bring rain and storm upon the people. 539*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

#539
#796
821
533

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 63.
. = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

1322 Ho-o-o-o!
1323 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai;
1324 H'A-ars si-i;
1325 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai;
1326 H'A-ars si-i.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o!
1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1329 H'A-ars si-i;
1330 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i;
1331 H'Atius si-i.

Translation

I

1322 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1323 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai, kawa woktai.
kawa; ka, part of katuharu, trees; wa, plural sign; kawa means thick or heavy timber.
woktai; wok, sound or noise; tai, on trees. Woktai, a sound made on the trees. The word refers to the tapping of the woodpecker upon the trees.
1324 H'Aars-si-i.
h', contraction of ha, behold.
aars, a modified form of atius, father.
si-i; si, your; i, vowel prolongation.
1325 Kawa woktai, kawa woktai. See line 1323.
1326 See line 1324.

II

1327 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1328 Ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i, ti wawaki-i.
ti, they; refers to the powers.
wawaki-i; waki, speak; wa, plural sign; final i, vowel prolongation. Wawaki-i, many are speaking.
1329 See line 1324.
1330 Ti wawkai-i, ti wawaki-i. See line 1328.
1331 H'Atius si-i. See line 1324.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 826

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipe-stem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

tiri, above, up there, as if the locality were designated by pointing upward. 539*

1362 hiri! harken! 796*

riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.

rasa, the man stood. 553

rāxsa, did.

pakara'ra, send voice to a distance.

witz, reached.

pari, traveling.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, the abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all; refers to Tira'wa atius being above all the powers.

1363 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

ri'kata, received.

iwa'hut, from iwa, to hand over or pass on to the one next, and tira'wahut, the circle above where the lesser powers are. Iwa'hut means handed or passed around the circle.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'rakūse, sitting.

tiraawa'hut, the circle above of the lesser powers.

tiri, up above.

1364 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, because of, by reason of.

sira, they took.

waku, they said.

rari'sut, gave consent, granted.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti'ruta, abodes of the lesser powers.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

Tira'wa, Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

ha! an exclamation of awe.

tiri, above all.

1365 hiri! harken!

riru'tziraru, by reason of, in consequence of.

Rarari'tu, an old term for Winds. It also means heavy storm clouds. Rari'tu, a cyclone. The word in the text has a double significance. It stands for the Winds, the lesser power, and for the summoning by this lesser power, the Winds, of the storm clouds, their messengers in the west. [821]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

men and women of the party with the ponies laden with gifts and needed supplies of food.

Over the wide prairie for miles and miles this order was preserved day after day until the journey came to an end. If from some distant vantage point a war party should descry the procession, the leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the Hako party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace.

No object met on the journey to the Son presented its ordinary aspect to the Hako party. Everything seen was regarded as a manifestation of the supernatural powers under whose favor this ceremony was to take place; hence the trees, the streams, the mountains, the buffalo were each addressed in song. This attitude toward nature is strikingly brought out in the two songs, which are in sequence, sung at the crossing of a stream.

Throughout this ceremony water is treated as one of the lesser powers. It is employed only for sacred purposes, and is never used in the ordinary way. To profane water would bring punishment upon the whole party (see the first ritual, line 29), and consequently when a stream ran across a line of travel no person could step into it as he commonly would do. A halt was called and the Ku'rahus led in the singing of the song in which Kawas is asked to grant the party permission to ford the stream. According to Pawnee rituals, water at the creation was given to the woman, so Kawas, representing the mother, could grant permission. The request is embodied in four stanzas. In the first the water touches the feet; in the second the feet stand in the water; in the third the feet move in the water; in the fourth the water covers the feet (note the resemblance of entering the stream to entering the lodge, seventh ritual, part 1).

After the stream was crossed the people halted on the bank to sing the song to the wind, led by the Ku'rahus. It also is in four stanzas. The wind is called upon to come and dry the water which the people may not irreverently touch. In the first stanza the wind touches the people; in the second it lightly brushes their bodies; in the third it circles about them; in the fourth it envelops them. Thus the wind, one of the lesser powers, comes between the people and the penalty incurred by profanely touching water.

In these ceremonies the people were constantly reminded that they were in the presence of the unseen powers manifested to them in the natural objects met upon the journey. To those initiated into the inner meaning of the rite, the appeal at the crossing of the stream to Kawas (the feminine element) and to the wind (typical of the breath of life) was connected with the symbolism of running water, explained in the seventh ritual as representing the giving of life from generation to generation.

The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth songs originally belonged to the journey, but we are told the buffalo are no longer seen; neither

11 Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

VII

Holy visions!
Ended now their mission, pass they outward,
Yet they leave us joy;
Pass they all from us—holy visions—
Yet they leave us joy.

VIII

Holy visions!
They, the sky ascending, reach their dwelling;
There they rest above;
They their dwelling reach—holy visions—
There they rest above.

TENTH RITUAL. THE DAWN

PART 1. THE BIRTH OF DAWN

*796 The opening ceremonies began after dark and continued until past midnight. At their close the Children and the Fathers retired to their tents, but the Son remained at his post near the inner door of the lodge, while the Ku'rahus and his assistants watched from behind the holy place, where the Hako lay at rest. The fire burned to embers, the noise of the camp died slowly away, and darkness and silence settled down within the lodge.

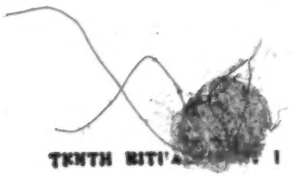
It was a long watch, but at length the Ku'rahus bade his server lift the skins, hanging at the inner and the outer door of the long passageway, and stand outside to report when the gray hue was seen in the
*539 east. When the voice of the server was heard proclaiming the sign
*796 of dawn, the Ku'rahus and his assistants rose, and as they stood
[533 behind the holy place, facing the open door, they sang the first song
781] in this drama of the mystic birth of Day. It was sung "slowly and with reverent feeling, for it speaks of the mysterious act of Tira'wa atius in the birth of dawn," said the Ku'rahus; "it is something very sacred, although it happens every day."

In the first stanza, the Earth, h'Atira (h', breath; atira, mother), Mother breathing forth life, is called on to awake, that she may receive fresh power of life to be given with the new day. In the second, h'Atira responds, she wakens from the sleep of night.

In the next stanza, h'Kawas (h', breath; Kawas, as the representative of the upper powers), the life-breathing powers above, are called to awake and receive fresh life through the new-born Day. In the fourth stanza, h'Kawas, awakening from sleep, responds. All the forces below and above have now been called, they are awake and ready to receive the gift of the new life.

*539 In the fifth stanza, Kawas, the mother, the leader in this ceremony,
*796 stands up and speaks from her nest. She explains to the Ku'rahus
821 that day is born of night by the power of Tira'wa, that it is the breath of this new-born child, the Dawn, which gives fresh life to all things

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18



below and to all things above. The Ku'rahus replies, in the sixth stanza, that now he understands the meaning of the signs of the east, where Tira'wa, moving on Darkness, causes her to bring forth the Day, whose breath, awakening man and all things, gives them new life. 539* 796* 821

In the seventh stanza the Ku'rahus turns to the Son, bidding him awake to receive the breath of the new day. In the eighth the Son awakes, and with the Ku'rahus watches the coming of Dawn.

This opening song of eight stanzas is in two parts: the first relates to the male and female forces, the above and below, awaking to receive a fresh influx of power from the breath of the new-born Day. In the second, the meaning of the signs in the east is revealed to the Ku'rahus by the mother, Kawas. With the assurance that new life is to be given, he awakes the Son, that he may receive the promise from the new-born child of Night. 539* 796*

The second song is in two parts. In the first the Morning Star, representative of Tira'wa atius, the father, is discerned slowly advancing from the far distance, the birthplace of Dawn. The light is dim, and as the people look it is gone; then they catch sight of it again, steadily approaching, growing brighter and brighter until, in the second stanza, it stands resplendent as a man girded with the strength of youth, the breath of life stirring the downy feather upon his head, symbol of Tira'wa atius, already rosy with the touch of the advancing sun. As they gaze, he slowly recedes and vanishes from their sight.

In the third stanza, along the path opened by the Morning Star, the representative of the Father, comes the new-born Dawn, dim at first and difficult to discern, but ever advancing, coming nearer and nearer, its breath stirring all things with life newly given from Tira'wa atius, the father of all. In the fourth stanza the sky is filled with the brightness of dawn; then the Dawn recedes and vanishes in the light of day.

The third song opens with the shout, "Day is here!" The light is everywhere and all things are clearly seen. The Son is called to lift his head and behold the light.

In the second stanza, the glad shout, "Day is here!" calls from their coverts the animals, led by the deer, bringing her young into the light of day. All creatures are now alert and moving about; the new Day has given new life.

In the fourth song the Ku'rahus bids the Son awaken the Children. In the second stanza the Children arise, and, as they step out under the glowing sky, they, too, are touched by the breath of the new-born Day.

The four songs represent four movements or parts of this ritual: (1) The awakening of the forces; (2) the approach of the new-born Dawn; (3) the stir of life among the creatures; (4) the touch of the breath of Dawn upon the Children. The sixteen stanzas make the symbol of completeness.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

The chant to the Sun, the recognition of the male principle, took place the second day. It was in two parts, the first sung during the morning hours, and the second in the late afternoon and at sunset.

The first ray of the morning sun comes, we are told, "direct from Tira'wa" and is "like a man" untouched by weakness or age. It is particularly powerful, and can impart strength to whomsoever it reaches, therefore the advent of the first ray of the sun was watched with eagerness.

In the chant the ray is spoken of as if it were a bird; it alights and climbs in and out of the lodge (akaro). This term is used with double significance, for the earthly abode, the wide stretch from horizon to horizon, and for the lodge, erected for the protection of the family — the nest.

In the first verse of the chant, the ray enters the door and goes through the long passageway into the lodge. The passageway typifies the individual life, the career of a man (first ritual, part I, stanza XIII). In the seventh ritual the Hako touches the threshold, crosses it, and takes within the passageway the four steps symbolic of length of days. In the ninth ritual, the Visions halt at the door and then go through the passageway to reach and touch the Children; and now the ray, coming directly from above, enters as did the Hako and the Visions, bringing vitality and strength to the Son.

The ray comes from h'Ars (h', breath; ars, a contraction of atius, father), the father of breath; it is the bearer of breath from the Sun, the intermediary which received this gift of vitality and strength from Tira'wa atius (first ritual, part I, stanzas I and II).

After the Son had been touched by the ray, which entered through the long passageway, the Fathers gave the Children their morning meal, which had been prepared outside the lodge and brought within during the first verse.

At the conclusion of the meal the chant was resumed. The second verse speaks of the ray alighting on the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, over the fireplace. The fireplace was feminine, and represented the protected center where life was conserved (first ritual, stanza X). The alighting of the ray over that center refers to the coming of the father bird to its nest.

In the third verse the ray climbs down, and in the fourth verse reaches the floor of the lodge and walks within the open space to touch the Children, bringing them the gift of vitality.

At the close of this verse the Hako were laid at rest with ceremonial movements and song.

The last four verses of the chant were sung late in the afternoon. In the fifth verse the ray has walked around the lodge and touched

539*
796*
[821]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

This is the teaching, this is the word sent
Down to us from our fathers:
All of the wise words, all of the good gifts,
Now brought to you as my Son,
Verily, as of old, all of these things,
All, by the east descended.

*539 *796 ●821 The song addressed to the Pleiades held a peculiar place in the ceremony. It had to be substituted for the last stanza of any song which was being sung when the constellation was reported as rising above the horizon. This right to set aside the stanza of a regular song preceding the act of laying down the Hako seems to bear out the explanation of the Ku'rahus, that the song to the Pleiades belonged "to the time when the ceremony was being made," and would imply that it was part of a ceremony from which the Hako drew authority.

"Tira'wa," the Ku'rahus said, "appointed the stars to guide their steps." The Pleiades not only guided but taught the people, as by an object lesson, "to remain together." The song would seem to have [174] been received in some locality to the south of the dwelling place of the Pawnees, since the man who obtained it "turned to the north and reached his country." This song is one among many indications that earlier forms of the Hako ceremony will probably be found among the people of the Mexican plateau.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[a]

Diagram of Time

*533
*796

Rhythmic Rendition

*539
*796

Look as they rise, up rise
Over the line where sky meets the earth:
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
It's teach to be, like you, united.

437 *533 *796 The songs which belong to the rituals of the night did not fill up the entire time, and extra songs could therefore be requested by the Children, provided a gift was made when the song was called for. A man would step up to the holy place, lay there a small stick, representing the gift of a horse, and say, "Father, sing for us!"

[a] Music on page 181.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Rhythmic Rendition

I

*539 Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is standing here,
*796 Behold, my child! waiting here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint waits, the vigor of life to bring.

II

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is flying here,
Behold, my child! flying here to bring the gift of life to you.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint flies, the vigor of life to bring.

III

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is touching here,
Behold, my child! touching here your head to bring the gift of life.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint touches, the vigor of life to bring.

IV

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who now follows here.
Behold, my child! Now the path it follows, paths where gods descend.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint follows, vigor of life to bring.

V

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who is spreading here,
Behold, my child! over you is spread the glowing gift of life.
Give heed, my child. See! Red paint brings the vigor of life to you.

VI

Give heed, my child, lift your eyes, behold the one who has brought you life.
Behold, my child! Life you have received and finished is the task.
Give heed, my child. Look! Red paint leaves the vigor of life with you.

*796 The next act was the painting of the child's face with blue, the color of the sky, the alaule of Tira'wa atius.

302 The design outlined by the water, the grass, the ointment, and the
531 red paint was now clearly seen—an arch, crossing the forehead and resting on the cheeks, from the middle of which a line was drawn downward on the nose. This design was said to "picture the face of Tira'wa." The arch was the dome of the sky, his alaule; the line, falling from the zenith, was the breath of Tira'wa descending on the child, meeting its breath.

[622 We are told that this design came from the constellation Corona
● 821] Borealis and was the insignia of a chief, as he who leads does so by the authority of Tira'wa and must bear his sign on the face. In this ceremony this design, taken in connection with the symbols next placed on the child, seems to represent the presence of the power, "the father of all things."

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[9]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kaririwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[9] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 8, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xli.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of "song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Drum and voice are in the same tempo and coincide on the first of each count. Three renditions were recorded and show no points of difference. 533*

No. 32. Eagle Chief's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1128)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum ♩ = 66
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2

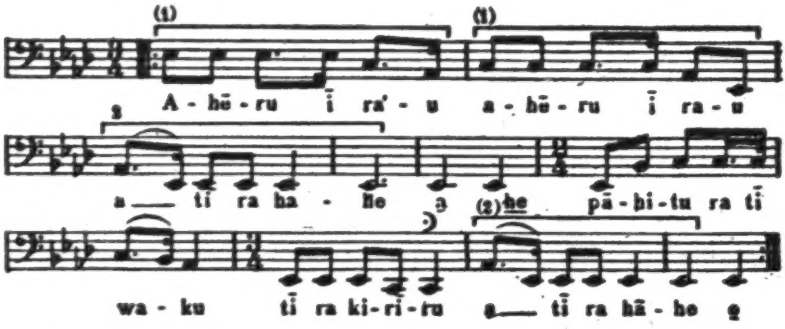
A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing the following song, learned it, and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. 821 787 533*

No. 33. "The Thunder Spoke Quietly"

(Catalogue No. 1080) 533*

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 62
Drum not recorded



Ahēru	ī	rau	a	tī	ra	harāhe [1]	pāhitu
Dear	it	that is	and	this	have	good	quietly
ra	tī	waku	tī	ra	kirīru	a	tī
have	him	saying	this	have	thundering	and	this
ra	hārahe						
have	good						

[1] The second syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pítahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

THE BUNDLE SCHEME.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

[p. 548 is blank]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot 184 be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kaháxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a 103 bundle:— 361

631 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in 778 this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikarariki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed [821] [823] to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 773 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and obtain a scalp. This was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.

The name of a dead person could not be mentioned during the mourning period. If anyone mentioned the name of an individual who had been killed in war, it was thought that he would probably suffer the same fate as the person killed.

Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.

A further illustration of the burial of belongings with the dead is contained in the following incident. A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band, and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an accompaniment, they then sang,—

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary rignt to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the [178] sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was [787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of [821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

721 796 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 796 When the party had assembled, they set out for the country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. [782] If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the [778] sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke [533] offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: [782] "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to [821] this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

851 convince a man of his physiological paternity, and her child would then
848 be a social outcast. It would be known as *pira-paru*, "hidden child," since the mother would be ashamed and try to hide it when her brothers came to visit. The child would be subject to many insults and humiliations throughout its life. In these terms, whatever the sentiments of the parents for each other, the child always had a legal right to the care of both its parents, clearly identified as its physical progenitors. Children were normally cared for by their grandmothers, and it was quite possible that various fortunes placed the child in one household with its grandmother, its mother in another household, and the father in still another. The obligations for support, however, remained incumbent on both parents.

593 The household as a working group of coordinated members was pre-
221 cisely organized, and each household had the same general structure. However, twice a year when the tribe set out on its semiannual buffalo hunts, the household work group fragmented itself into many smaller groupings, which reassorted themselves so that an able hunter became the nucleus of each new composite grouping. When they returned to the village the households did not necessarily reassemble with the same personnel as before. This was entirely optional, and there were many reasons why people might decide to join a different household group than the one they had been with before leaving. However, it was not too hard to establish a working household on this basis even twice a year, since the pattern of operation was the same everywhere. The three duplicate stations on the north and south sides of the lodge with their full complement of the young, mature, and old women was a frame into which any individual woman could fit herself in whatever household she entered with little loss of efficiency, since her duties were so clearly defined once she selected the category to which she belonged. And a child with a grandmother to care for it could fit in anywhere. Young men led a more transient existence. They were likely to congregate at different times in one lodge or another, and a bed would be made for them by putting down a mat between the central pillars and providing it with the necessary skin bedding. Old men also moved about rather freely, staying overnight in various households whenever they were detained late of an evening telling stories or participating in a ceremony. As for the mature man, his married-in household was not considered his "true" home. In his married-in household he was an outsider with formal obligations, which sometimes tended to weigh rather heavily on him. Then he would go where his home really was—that of his sisters and his mother, where they would gladly feed him and take care of him and where he could relax
621 and feel like a child. When this happened, his wife understood, and she
622 knew he would be back after a few days.

821 The only stable and fixed unit of Pawnee life was the village with
778

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

three hundred to five hundred people and from ten to twelve households. 621
The village community centered around the chief who had his sanction 622
through a vision from Heaven. Every person within the village was also
under the tutelage of a given star, and the chief held the sacred bundle 821
that represented the supernatural story of its origin and gave the village 778
its continuity. In these terms, all the people in the village were considered as a kindred, but their specific cosmic derivation gave them differing social ranks. According to their star affiliations, some were born as 821
chiefs, some as braves, and some as commoners; their social functions in
the community were thus relatively preordained. When a chiefly infant 554
was born to two high-ranking parents, he was wrapped in a wildcat skin, 565
symbolizing the heavens with its panoply of stars and planets. When he married, the priest and his senior errand man impersonated the Morning Star and the sun respectively. High-ranking chiefly families provided the administrators, whereas the families of braves—the next in rank—provided the executive officers. The commoners, known collectively as *akitaru* "the tribe or people," were often reminded by their officials that only their support made it possible to carry out the responsibilities of high office. However, one's life was not entirely cast in this mold. A chief 554
or brave might never be considered worthy of the office, or he himself 565
might not feel capable of dedicating himself to its responsibilities, while a commoner could rise high in the social scale and acquire considerable wealth by becoming a successful doctor and earning high fees from his grateful patients. Some people of commoner rank had little use for prestige positions and would say, "I don't care to be a noted person." Another group would prefer a carefree life of adventure. They would go out on long scouting expeditions, roaming about the country and exploring to see what they could find. They were helpful to anyone in the village who needed them, without considering it beneath their dignity to perform any menial task and gave away what they had rather freely. Such men were referred to as "boys" on the grounds that they were like boys, having no care for accumulating anything or for providing for the morrow. They were regarded with affection and sometimes rose to the rank of brave in recognition of their long public service.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

000

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds —Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it. 796

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars. [321] [349]

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the appearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to 796 821 [221]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen
821 for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle
798 which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky
821 Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gath-
221 ered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady
793 Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf rep-
[798] resenting the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

773 796 782 [821] [787] to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

[292] [825] [823] [824]

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Turwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ject has often been that they kept themselves free to take the horses of the enemy and ride them home. They did gain in stealth of approach, but this is no doubt a secondary explanation of what was probably a survival of older custom. The fact that the men looked for booty or various kinds of valuables in the places they attacked and carried them home on their backs is indicated in some of the well-known names that were current, such as He-Comes-Carrying-Sitting-Down-from-Time-to-Time-Coming—implying that the things brought home as war trophies were so heavy that the bearer had to sit down from time to time and rest. Another such name is He-Brings-Many-Trophies-from-Over-the-Wide-World, or again, He-Comes-Bringing-Them-Down-a-Hill, or still another, He-Comes-Carrying-His-Trophies-Today.

It is clear that the actual pattern of cooperation on the migration and hunt was established long before they had horses and present practices were adapted but not substantially changed. In 1540 Coronado's expedition met a party of buffalo-hunting Indians on the Plains who were using the dog travois and carrying dried buffalo meat. Mark Evarts describes some of the traditions remembered by the Pawnees at the time of our narrative, when they had no horses:

> Near Old Village there was a hill called Calf-Against-Upon-Standing. The calf referred to was a certain kind of yellow calf with a long body and the people knew that when they saw him standing on the hill, the herd would be right beyond him. The people would line up on each side and surround the herd and make the buffalo circle about inside. They would kill them and butcher, and carry the meat home on their backs. They had no horses. There was no trade store.
>
> The North Wind was called Lucky Wind because when it blew it sent the buffalo. In winter in deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep, and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow, and could readily be killed. This was particularly the case before we hunted with horses.
>
> In summer the buffalo went scattered in small bunches and this was difficult, but in winter they traveled in closer formation when we could also drive them onto the ice.

The Pawnee surround is described by George Bird Grinnell (1925, pp. 249-250):

> Choosing a still day, they would surround a small bunch of buffalo, stretching out in a long line whose extremities would gradually draw together, as the hunters, disguised as wolves, stole from hill to hill around the unconscious prey. When the circle was complete some man would shout and startle the buffalo.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

19

COMMON CAMPING ROUTINES

000

Description of Camping Routines—Starting the Day—Breakfast—Loading the Horses—Striking the Tent—the Camp Crier—Entertainment

*484 512 [887] THE ROUTINE OF CAMPING and decamping followed the same pattern throughout the summer. Advance scouts left the encampment about four in the morning to survey the route and to protect the old women who preceded the line of march in order to be sure to keep up with the group. As dawn was breaking, everyone had had breakfast and was under way. The families of the chiefs got up earliest in order to lead the line of march.

In Victory Call's camp, Grandma got up before anyone else—she made a low fire and put the bucket of corn to warm up on the glowing embers. Then she brought in an armful of wood and put it down next to the fireplace and went to the creek to get a bucket of water.

Now Horse Rider would begin to grunt and growl and say, "It's morning now," so that everyone would get up. The horses were hobbled and picketed around the encampment; he got into his moccasins, picked up his lariat, and went off to tend to them. He watered them since he wouldn't have a chance after breakfast, bringing them close to the tent and hobbling them there so that they would be ready for loading.

By the time the old lady was coming with the bucket of water, White Woman had gotten up, washed her hands and face, and begun to prepare breakfast.

[821] [515] Now Victory Call arose, went out, and looked at the sky to see if there were clouds far out over the hills. He came in and took a little basin of water and washed his hands and face, drying them on the hairy part of a buffalo robe—the leg and arm parts, and then shaking off the water. Some men went to the creek to wash, gargled with some water, and blew it out. While doing this, one had to face west toward the Evening

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recognized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the su-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above.

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

31

HARVEST TIME IN THE VILLAGE

Encampment in the Bottomlands—Grandma Opens the Cache Pit—Fall Harvest—Grandma Builds a Work Enclosure in the Field—Roasting the Corn and Pumpkin—Her Round of Activities—Treatment of Corn, Beans, Pumpkin—Sioux Attack—Earth Lodges Prepared for Reentering—Stories

EVERYONE'S THOUGHTS were now upon their gardens and their corn. In the sky, the South Star, Canopus, had appeared and they knew it was time for harvest. By our calendar it was about the first of September. The time of the hunt was over; the time of the harvest begun.

Before they left the village at the end of June, the corn had grown about knee high and the earth was hilled up around the young plants so that they looked like little earth lodges with smoke issuing from their smokeholes. Now the stalks were ten feet tall and the ears were not quite mature but "in the milk." The corn harvest was in two stages: some of the corn was treated at once in this early stage by roasting and drying, and some left to mature completely on the stalk before being dried and processed. Between the first and second corn drying, they harvested and dried the beans and then the pumpkins.

When they camped in the bottomlands near the fields, they set up a commodious tent as they knew they wouldn't have to move it for at least three weeks, and they needed room to keep their meat and dried crops under cover. Their earth lodges were infested with fleas and they couldn't spare the time to clear them up until they had gotten on with the work of the harvest. However, they did go up to the villages and open up and inspect and clean their storage pits that they had left with

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
• [821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on.

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village.

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars —of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

538 821 484 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he said.

538 821 805 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving, the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve 538 821 805 192 months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating, hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be 538 517 clear that the storytelling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war, topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge. [224] Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter hunt.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew

with a white bead in the middle. The string represented the Milky Way and the bead the earth. Certain men liked to play this game when they came in from buffalo hunting and each could make his own wheel. No gambling accompanied this game.

The large wheel took about two days to make. The hoop was made of a bent sapling, the ends being crossed over for a short distance where they joined. The buckskin thong was fastened from this joining to the opposite side of the diameter to represent the Milky Way with the white bead in the middle for the earth. A wrapping of otter fur was wrapped around the joining of the hoop and at the opposite side and also marking off the boundaries of the other two quarter-arcs. Twenty-four feathers and bunches of feathers were tied with thongs at equidistant intervals around the circumference, twelve on each half. Each sector carried one of the regular moon or month names. The men also made a water drum of a hollow cottonwood log.

The most popular game of the women was a game in which a series of marked dice made of plum seeds were tossed up in a shallow coiled basket made of willow. This too had cosmic significance, for the basket represented the container ordained by Heaven during the creation to carry the earth from which the world was created and contained the germs of life. In the spring time during the ground-breaking ceremony immediately preceding the planting known as *awari*, "vigorous movement" or "living," two coiled baskets were used that had been especially made by the wife or sister of the minister under his direction. The women moved the baskets gently back and forth through the air in the course of the ceremony. At the creation, Heaven caused this basket to move of itself through space.

There were only eight or ten women among all the Skidi Band who knew how to make these coiled gambling baskets. They were made of willow twigs, and a woman who wanted one made consulted with the craftswoman who told her what kind of willow twigs to get in such and such a condition at the edge of the creek. The making took from two or three days and the woman received the usual combination of something to wear and something to eat for her services—five yards of calico and some corn, or half an intestine mat and skin cut out and ready to be sewn into moccasins. The old ladies who made these baskets were usually the ones who liked to gamble. Some women expressed scruples about learning to make them as they felt they would be encouraging gambling. There were a number of inveterate gamblers among the women, and the betting was heavy. Others managed to keep their gaming to a casual pastime. The woman who made the basket was usually asked to make the plum seed dice although any woman could make them. She was asked to rub them and to hope that her customer had good luck.

When the woman had gathered the willow twigs, she took them to the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778
126

80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

787

80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

787
828

775
534

80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

773
171

83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

80-81

[821]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In
81, 127 Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the land.

82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month, "they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were
111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369, description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,
117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan
319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the
330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 169, that

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243 825 171 [244]

97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

533 126

100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

512 243

103 Ochler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243

105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other

• 821 302

107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutiski*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

000

113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

116 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

172 243

122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radiocarbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced

121 across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

000

121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1923, pp. 142-161). 773 551 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Trus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu';* White Spotted, *Paras-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Trus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834-1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 179

NOTES AND COMMENTS

P 224

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

P [821] [796] [361]

P 482

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

P 172 325

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

P 162

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

P 439

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

D [726] [727]

P [726]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

554
727

357-358 Like other Plains tribes, the Pawnee had the tradition of honoring a warrior for touching a fallen enemy. In anthropological literature, this has come to be known as "counting coup." The first one to touch the fallen enemy among the Pawnees as among the other Plains tribes, got the greatest honor. It was said of him, *wi-ti-ki*, "now-he-strikes." The second to touch the fallen enemy got a secondary honor and the third was the final strike that could count. Taking the scalp could count as a "strike." As the strike is being made, the warrior must call out "I strike" at the scene of battle itself if possible with witnesses to the deed. Otherwise, only if there were some concrete evidence, could the deed be counted. For example, if one struck a dead Sioux, one would put him in a sheltered place until you could bring witnesses or people who came to see tracks of horses in the place where the exploit occurred and some blood to show there had been a skirmish. However, even if such proof could not be made, later when peace was made and the erstwhile enemies were sitting together at peace, they might recount their former war exploits and the deeds of the brave would be confirmed by the enemy so that the warrior's own people would know.

172
412

363 On polished stone axes, celts, etc. see Wedel, 1936, pp. 77-78: In the archaeological Pawnee and proto-Pawnee sites, polished stone axes and celts are rare, and there seems to be a preponderance of crude stone mauls. Also see Strong, 1935, pp. 59-60, 66-67.

292
821

375-376 The comet of 1882, *upirik-kiskuxka*, "feather headdress," was so named to indicate the identification of the traditional Plains war bonnet with a comet.

000

403-406 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of a bulrush mat, pp. 151-152.

382, 385 See Weltfish, 1937, Caddoan texts, on the making of wooden bowls, pp. 47-51, and the mortar and pestle.

As this book went to press, there appeared in *Science* (July 10, 1964, 145, No. 3628, 117-136) a definitive article, "Economics and the Quality of Life" by the outstanding economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, that so closely parallels the general viewpoint that I have tried to express here that I feel it should be especially mentioned.

In the *New York Times* (July 12, 1964), an article appeared which was entitled "Landlord to Hire Social Worker to Help His Tenants Live Better." The realtor referred to is Mr. Howard Offit, one of Baltimore's largest landlords, who owns about 1,000 red-brick-row or attached houses. The social worker hired by Mr. Offit will work in a West Baltimore neighborhood. Harold C. Edelston, executive director of Baltimore's Health and Welfare Council, who is one of the program's advisers, states its purpose: "to have the social worker provide brief counseling service for tenants with personal family